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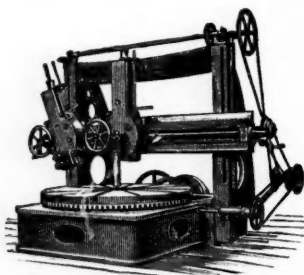
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PHILADELPHIA, SATURDAY, MAY 21, 1887.

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REVIEW OF THE WEEK.

THE death of Justice Woods of the United States Supreme Bench brings into the foreground the constitutional significance of the election of 1884. This is the first opportunity Mr. Cleveland has had to appoint a member of our highest tribunal, which can set aside a law of Congress and enjoin the executive from proceeding, when it is satisfied that either law or proceeding is contrary to the Constitution. In no other country of the world is a tribunal invested with such powers. No other country has a court whose power is absolute to thwart even the present will of the nation by declaring it out of harmony with a fundamental law adopted a century ago. Upon the character and the political principles of this court depends the direction our national life may have to take. A mistake on its part may involve consequences of the most serious kind. Thus, by importing one legal superstition into our law, the Supreme Bench in the Dartmouth College case saddled the whole nation with whimsical, useless, and even mischievous endowments, apparently to the end of time, and tied the hands of our legislatures from giving that relief from the innovations of time, which is the prerogative of legislatures everywhere outside this court's jurisdiction. By another blunder the court was on the verge of destroying one of the most important powers of our government for the conduct of a great war,—the power to issue paper-money and make it legal tender.

THE ex-Republican newspapers, which gave the choice of Judge Woods' successor into Democratic hands, are now minimizing the significance of the elevation of a Democrat—probably the first of a series of Democrats—to the Supreme Bench. They remind us that Judge Field is the only judge already on that bench who can be called a Democrat, and they suggest that the day is past when it matters whether a judge belongs to one party or the other. Those who have so lost all sense of a meaning in our parties as to be able to trip over from one to the other with a light heart are not the safest judges of that matter. All genuine Democrats, equally with all genuine Republicans, recognize the fact that the interpretation of the national Constitution is the most vital and the most permanent issue in our politics. It is true that it was in connection with the problem of slavery that the quarrel was fought out in the last generation. But there is a series of questions of equal importance, whose decision turns upon "strict construction," or its alternative. Would a Democratic Supreme Bench have decided to compel "the sovereign State" of Virginia to accept its own coupons in payment of its debt? All that such a bench could do to convert the Union into a loose Confederacy, bound by a rope of sand, it did before the war. Has the Democratic party ceased to believe in minimizing the authority of the national government? When it does, it will cease to be the Democratic party, and will have abandoned its proper function as the centrifugal force in our system.

JUDGE WOODS was an estimable gentleman, of Scotch-Irish extraction, but not reckoned among the brilliant members of the bench. It will not be hard for Mr. Cleveland to replace him with a Democrat of much greater ability. Of course the demand is made that the South shall have the appointment. A president who had the courage to take two members of his first cabinet from his own State may be brave enough to ignore the claims of locality in this instance also. If so, he will find in Ex-Governor Hoadly, of Ohio, now practicing law in New York, a man whose appointment would elicit the applause of his political enemies. He is a lawyer of great ability, a man of judicial temper and genuine de-

votion to the public good, and a Democrat who knows what Democracy stands for, as the Mugwumps do not.

Four years ago we should have preferred Mr. Garland to even Mr. Hoadly. We are not able to do so now. While we have little sympathy with the motives of the outcry against him raised in the interest of a great monopoly, we must recognize the fact that his management of the Department of Justice in that regard has laid him open to very great exceptions. Another Southern man who would be a very good appointment, is Judge Jackson, formerly the U. S. Senator from Tennessee,—now on the bench of the U. S. Circuit Court.

THE Federal Club of New York entertained Mr. Theodore Roosevelt at dinner last week, and there was some good speech-making. The guest of the evening opened his address by a frank estimate of the Mugwumps. He said:

"For many of the Independents, then, I have nothing but the kindest feelings. I heartily respect them, and am genuinely sorry that their ways are no longer those of the Republican party. But there are other Independents, so-called, whom it is difficult to regard as acting in good faith. These make up the mendacious and hysterical variety of Mugwump. They are the men of purely personal politics, who are fairly servile in their adulation of Mr. Cleveland, and whose only other political principle is that of hatred of the Republican party. Many of them are editors who declaim against partisanship, and are themselves more bigoted partisans than any regular party men. They talk overmuch of political honesty; and they reserve their most rancorous malevolence for honest men who differ from them on public questions. Funnily enough, there is a curiously feminine cast to their sour spitefulness; theirs is not the anger of men; it is the shrill, high-pitched, voluble chiding of the virago and the common scold. The keynote of all they write is bitter, personal malignity; they assail all who differ from them with every weapon that can be forged out of mean innuendo and ingenious falsehood; and this from behind the shield of anonymous journalism. They pose as the especial champions of public purity, and in reality by their everlasting sneering at and belittling of decent men, they do all in their power to degrade and reduce our politics to the very lowest level; they attack an honest foe with the same abuse they shower on an alderman who has just been sent to Sing Sing; and characters against which they dare not urge anything specific they seek to blacken by studied and unending misrepresentation and insinuation."

This lying in the interests of reform, to which Mr. Roosevelt refers, is no novelty in our public life. It was seen also in the great Anti-slavery struggle, when small-minded men defiled a great cause by giving currency to falsehood aimed at prominent opponents. Some of them argued, when charged with this: "His influence is so powerful, and so much on the wrong side, that anything which tends to destroy it must be legitimate." We do not say that there were no such sins on the other side. But they seem to us especially detestable when associated with sacred causes like religion, liberty, and reform.

THE subject of Commercial Union with the United States has been under discussion in the Board of Trade at Toronto. Prof. Goldwin Smith and others advocated the adoption of the following:

"Resolved, That in conformity with the sentiment of Canadian people expressed at intervals with great unanimity for many years, this Board regards as advantageous to the mutual prosperity of the United States and Canada, the removal of every possible restriction upon international trade, and affirms that the proposal for commercial union between the two countries is worthy of the fullest investigation and most earnest consideration of the Canadian community."

To this, three amendments were offered, one favoring a reciprocity treaty, and another a commercial union with Great Britain and her colonies. We have not seen any account of the vote on these.

The *Times* of New York comes up bravely to the support of

commercial union with Canada. On one point only we dissent from its statement of the case. It says:

"Of course commercial union between the two countries would necessitate an assimilation of the tariffs of the two countries. But that ought not to be a matter of great difficulty. Canada already has established a tariff approximating in character and purposes our own, while ours is in need of modification in the direction of hers."

We submit that even Canada is of the opinion that the opposite process is the preferable one. Instead of proposing to assimilate our tariff to hers, she is busy bringing hers up toward our level. The new Tariff law submitted this week to the Ottawa Parliament by the Macdonald Government is a distinct approximation to the American tariff, especially in the matter of the duties on iron.

It appears to be the opinion of the New York *Tribune* that commercial union with Canada must mean, and should be preceded by, political union. This is an individual idea, and not one generally held. Those who see in the proposed measure the best, and perhaps the only, way out of the present complications, look to it as one affecting commerce only. Upon that ground it is now both forcible and justifiable; but if it is to be complicated with the idea of annexation, no one can say how long it would be before the subject could adjust itself in the public mind. Neither in Canada nor the United States, as far as present appearances go, is there any considerable party in favor of political union, while the approval of a Zollverein plan of reciprocal trade grows stronger every day. If the *Tribune* is not in favor of it, what does it propose?

THE wool-growers have been holding their annual meeting in St. Louis, and there has been the usual expression of intense dissatisfaction with the wool-clauses in the Tariff of 1883. The Association urged its members to press this matter on the attention of political conventions of both parties, and to labor for the amendment of the tariff. All this is very well; but the Democrats of the Association will help to elect members pledged to vote for higher duties, who then will help so to organize the House of Representatives as to make any increase of duties impossible. If the wool-growers were to do their utmost to elect a Republican House, the difficulty would be overcome very soon. But no Democratic House will do anything in that direction.

In the meantime, our wool-industry is declining, instead of keeping pace with the general progress of the country. Under the protective policy the wool clip increased four-fold in twenty years. The next census probably will show a marked retrogression toward the total of 1860.

THE President has appointed Mr. Hyatt, of Connecticut, to be Treasurer of the United States, in the place of Mr. Jordan. Mr. Hyatt is a man of integrity, to whom no other objection lies than that he has been very intimate with the Mr. Barnum of that State, whose famous transactions in "mules" and impudent use of the Morey letter in 1880, made his name unsavory to the American people. But we presume that there are honest men even among Mr. Barnum's friends.

The selection confirms the belief that Mr. Cleveland is inclined to look to New England for votes to recoup the losses of his party in the South. He is quoted as expressing the hope that Massachusetts will be a Democratic state in 1876. Connecticut, however, is a much more likely field for the Democrats to cultivate, since the overflow of New York into its western and southern counties has tended to corrupt the political principles of this land of steady habits. Connecticut, however, is a Republican state, under favorable conditions, and is not likely to be swerved from its convictions by a few official places.

A CURIOUS bit of post-Rebellion rancor blossoms out in Virginia, in a protest from General Rosser and a very few others who were in the Confederate Army, against the extension of hospitality to the General of the armies of the United States. It is well

known that General Sheridan, in executing the severe orders given him by the War Department, excited a good deal of local hatred in the Shenandoah Valley. As time has gone on, this feeling has not expired, and the stories of his severities have been exaggerated until he is regarded by some as a second Louvois, if not a Jenghis Khan. To this feeling General Rosser gives expression, while declaring his entire readiness to fraternize with the Northern commanders generally. The truth seems to be that General Sheridan executed his orders with as much humanity as was possible, and avoided giving any needless offence to the Southern people. His superiors judged it necessary to make it impossible for the Southern cavalry to raid the valley and support themselves on the contributions of its people, most of whom were in sympathy with them. For this reason all stores of provisions and all uninhabited buildings were destroyed. Whether the order was wise and necessary we must leave to military authorities to judge. But to stigmatize the manner in which it was executed is to do gross injustice to a brave and humane soldier.

MR. J. Q. A. WARD'S Statue of President Garfield, placed at the rear of the capitol building at Washington, was inaugurated last week. All that could be done to make the occasion a failure seems to have been done by the managers of the affair. Although the statue is a national monument, no pains were taken to secure any general or representative attendance of the dead President's friends. Most people heard nothing of the event until it was over. General Keifer was selected as the orator of the day, which was enough of itself to throw a wet blanket on the affair. The fact that the Army of the Cumberland was holding a reunion was counted as a security for a large attendance; whereas Gen. Garfield's position as a staff-officer only made his hold on the soldier as a soldier very slight. So the attendance was thin, the addresses, with the exception of Mr. Cleveland's few words, neither appropriate nor inspiring, and the whole affair stale enough. Of course, the dead statesman's enemies could not miss the chance to insinuate that all this is the fruit of a better understanding of his character, and a lower estimate of his worth. But he lives as he did from the hour of his death in the affectionate regard of the American people.

The statue itself is not striking, but fairly good. The most attraction lies in the subsidiary figures around the base, which represent war, study, and statesmanship.

THE attempt to effect a settlement between the State of Virginia and the English owners of its bonds has proved a failure. The commissioners sent over to represent the creditors telegraphed home to London the proposals the representatives of the state were authorized to make. Then came instructions to reject the proposal. As the Virginians refused to modify it, the conference was at an end. This is a painful spectacle to every American. Virginia is a commonwealth in whose honor or dishonor we all share. And it is a national humiliation when a State which has played such a part in American history refuses to do her utmost to discharge her obligations to her creditors. We do not write in any partisan spirit, for since Northern Republicans crushed out the debt-paying Republican party of Virginia, and forced a union with Messrs. Mahone and Riddleberger—Stalwart and Mugwump coöperating to this end—both parties have been guilty. Also we recognize the possibility of such a thing as State bankruptcy, and the relaxation of claims which that necessitates. But we have seen no evidence that the wealthy and rapidly progressing State of Virginia has reached that point, or ever is likely to reach it,—anecdotes about impoverished tax-payers being quite insufficient as proof. The statistics of the Census tell no such story of state impoverishment.

By the way, why should not England declare war upon us to secure redress of the wrongs of these creditors? She had no better excuse for her war upon the popular party in Egypt, her

annexation of Burmah, or her threat to seize the Tortugas Island from Hayti. All these aggressions upon weaker powers were justified simply by the plea that English creditors could not get their money as was promised; and Hayti has just escaped this outrage by paying the amount claimed out of the public treasury. Is it because we are a big country and those are small ones, that Sir Edward Thornton does not go back from Richmond, as Mr. Goschen went home from Alexandria, to advise a declaration of war in the interests of the London stock-exchange?

THE Episcopal Convention of South Carolina has been rent asunder over the question of "negro equality." There is one colored church with a colored rector in the diocese. No delegate from the church has ever been admitted to the Convention, but the bishop of the diocese enjoys the right to draw up the clergy list, and thus to give admission to all members of the clerical order in good standing. For years past Bishop Howe has placed the name of the colored rector on the list, and the brother in black has sat and voted with the rest, in the face of protest from a party of opposition, chiefly laymen. This year the protest culminated in secession. Two white rectors and fourteen lay-delegates withdrew, held a conference of their own, and refused to listen to any entreaties for their return. As they left a quorum for business, and secured no standing under the law of their church, this act can have no permanent significance unless the majority are weak enough to expel the black rector to secure their return. But so long as Bishop Howe remains firm, this cannot be done.

Such action as this explains why the Episcopal Church has so little hold upon the freedmen, and why it is so easy for the colored churches to drift out of that wholesome relation to the white which would have been so greatly beneficial to them. And it is a sad departure from the traditions of the early Christian Church, to which this particular body of Protestant Christians claims to look back with reverence as an authority. In that church there was no discrimination against men of darker skin: Nubian, Greek, and Copt worshipped at the same altar and sat in the same councils for the decision of doctrines. Indeed nothing was more offensive to the Pagans than the persistent ignoring of all such distinctions which characterized the early Christians. This handful of South Carolinian upholders of the "color line" appear to sympathize more with the Pagans than the Primitive Christians.

Two Republican States have just enacted High License laws. That of Minnesota requires \$1,000 a year from saloons in St. Paul and Minneapolis, and \$500 from those in other parts of the State. That of Pennsylvania puts the license in Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and Alleghany at \$500 a year, while in cities of less than 30,000 inhabitants the fee is \$400; in boroughs, \$200; for country taverns \$100. No discrimination is made between dealers in malt liquors only and dealers in spirituous liquors. All sales must be made on the ground floor, and no obstructions are allowed to conceal the bar and its customers from the sight of the public on the streets. Sales on Sunday and to minors are prohibited under severe penalties, including forfeiture of license. In the cities named the licenses are to be granted by the courts, and the people of the neighborhood can be heard in opposition to granting. The law goes into effect on the first of July, in the sense that no license under the old law can be issued after the 30th of June. But licenses already issued are not vitiated.

The law seems to give general satisfaction, except to the owners of saloons which will be closed by it, and to those Prohibitionists who fear it may stand in the way of their own remedy. Even the New York newspapers praise it as a statesmanlike measure, while some of them contrast it with the Vedder bill now before their own legislature. The objections to this latter bill seem to centre on the distribution it makes of the tax between the State and the local government. It is said that New York City would be saved nearly a million and a half a year in the taxes it now

pays to the State. Yet the bill is denounced as for the benefit of the rural districts only. In Pennsylvania the proceeds of the licenses are to be divided between the State, the counties, and the municipalities, and Philadelphia comes into both the latter classes, being a county as well as a city.

AN evening newspaper of this city takes exception to the permission given to the railroads by the Inter-State Commerce law to issue tickets to "ministers of the gospel" at lower rates than to any one else. The practice of making such discriminations in favor of ministers has prevailed in this country from the first, and is indeed a remnant of the old-fashioned deference which used to be accorded to the cloth everywhere. It is said that the term is hard to define; but the railroads have found it not impossible to define it, as also those States, like Ohio, which limit the authority to perform the marriage ceremony to "magistrates and ministers of the gospel." Nor would it be easy to extend the term so as to include persons whom the law does not intend.

The reason given for continuing the exemption is that ministers generally are paid very insufficient salaries; that they render the railroads as well as other great corporations the service of maintaining the popular regard for law and order; and that the proper work of the profession constrains them to travel more than they can afford. All this is true; and yet it is doubtful if it would not be better for the clerical profession generally to decline all such favors, as many of them now do. It is not best that any of the makers of public opinion should place themselves under obligation to the railroads. It is not best to associate "the cloth" with the idea of a pauperizing patronage. It is probable, also, that the ministers would be better paid if they put the question of compensation on a more business footing, and declined the concessions and discriminations which serve to salve the consciences of their congregations. If they insisted on paying their way like other people, there might come an end of the time when the average pay of an American clergyman was but half that of a skilled artisan.

THE sentiment in favor of a Saturday half-holiday has crystallized into law in New York. The law goes into effect to-day, but it was generally anticipated last Saturday. We hope that Pennsylvania will not be long behind this. A similar bill was introduced into our Legislature months ago.

Also the Legislature has voted to create a number of small parks in the densely-peopled parts of New York city. This too is worthy of our imitation. Penn set out well by dedicating a number of squares in his city's plan to fresh air and recreation. But in the extension of the city beyond the old limits, this feature of his plan has been neglected. The greater part of the city lies outside the boundaries of Penn's Philadelphia. Yet in all this part there are but two squares—Norris and Jefferson. It is the popular fiction that Fairmount Park serves the needs of the rest. But any New Yorker can reach Central Park in half the time it takes a resident of a southern ward to get to Fairmount, and at the same expense. And yet Central Park is not found sufficient.

THE verdict of guilty in the curious conspiracy case in Buffalo has excited a degree of attention which shows that its significance is greater than appears on the surface. It was a criminal prosecution of a number of persons more or less intimately identified with the Standard Oil Company upon the charge that they had conspired with the prosecutor's employees and others to ruin the business of oil refining, in which he was engaged at Buffalo. The first answer was a counter charge of "black-mail," the defendants alleging that the prosecutor had abandoned farming and gone into oil-refining only to force the Standard Company to buy him out. The Standard subsequently secured the dismissal of the charge so far as it affected those persons who were known to be officially connected with it. In the close of the case the judge charged against the prosecution, but the jury stood out

on their own line, and brought in a verdict of guilty against the two remaining defendants.

Whatever may become finally of this case,—for it may be expected that the verdict will be in some way set aside by proceedings in the higher courts,—it will have some good effects. Its significance is not likely to be entirely destroyed, as a special warning to the Standard Company, and as a general one to capitalists who yearn to follow the example of the Standard's methods.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN'S visit to Canada to call Lord Lansdowne to account for his evictive cruelties before the people he governs, has been a decisive success, thus far. Of course in the cities of the Quebec province, with their great Catholic majorities, the Irish agitator had it all his own way. The test was when he reached Toronto, the headquarters of the Canadian Orangemen, who had organized, with the moral support of the city government, to prevent his getting a hearing. As no hall of any size was to be had, an open-air meeting was held in Queen's Park, attended by some 15,000 people. And there, Mr. O'Brien, as well as Mr. Kilbride, an evicted tenant from the Lansdowne estate, managed to say their say, in spite of the frantic efforts of a squad of Orangemen to make them inaudible.

As to the course Lord Lansdowne has taken in the matter, there are contradictory accounts. Publicly he has said that Mr. O'Brien must be conceded freedom of speech. But it is asserted that this was after failing to deprive him of it, in Canada, at least. It is charged that he proposed to the viceregal council to have the Irishman arrested for breach of the peace as soon as he arrived in Canada. And it certainly is suspicious that his own visit to Toronto, apropos of nothing in particular, was followed by a general effort of the municipal authorities to keep Mr. O'Brien out of the city. Not only did they refuse to keep the bargain by which the use of the largest hall in the city was secured for Mr. O'Brien, but the mayor sent despatches urging him not to come at all, as the people of the place did not regard themselves as the proper tribunal before which to arraign the viceroy of Canada. This plea comes too late. People of Canada of the same genial way of thinking encouraged Lord Lansdowne to proceed with his evictions, by their addresses and other expressions of sympathy, while that matter was still in suspense. They constituted themselves such a tribunal and pronounced their decision in his favor, without hearing a word in behalf of his unfortunate tenants. They now object to hearing Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Kilbride against the verdict they had returned in the viceroy's favor.

During Mr. O'Brien's absence he has been elected to Parliament from one of the divisions of Cork.

THE Irish Coercion bill makes slow progress through Committee of the House of Commons. The ministry made the bad mistake of appointing Mr. Leonard Courtney chairman of the Committee. Mr. Courtney is a Liberal Unionist, and while committed to the principle of the bill, has not the Tory relish for legislation of this kind. He has enough Liberal instinct left in him to insist that a people's liberties shall not be sacrificed without due discussion both of the proposed legislation, and the amendments the minority propose to it. And of these amendments Mr. Healey and Mr. Dillon have supplied him with plenty, carefully drawn and admirably adapted to bother the majority. In order to expedite matters the government has been obliged to accept so many that the first two sections have been trebled in length, while day after day has been spent in discussion of those it has refused to adopt. At this rate of progress, the bill will be ready for the Lords about the time when the shooting season opens next August.

Of course the weak-kneed among the Liberals are ready to cry out against this as obstruction, and as reducing Parliament to a nonentity. To meet this objection Mr. Gladstone announced at a public meeting of the London dissenters,—who now are as good as unanimous for Home Rule,—that if the Government

would accept an amendment confining the action of the bill to crimes, and extending to combinations of Irish tenants the same protection as the law gives to combinations of English workmen since 1867, the bill would be expedited. To this the Home Rulers assented, and Sir William Vernon Harcourt moved an amendment "exempting from secret inquiry all proceedings relating to public meetings or agrarian movements, including combinations to obtain reductions of rent." The amendment was defeated by only 62, so that it must have had the solid support of all the Home Rulers. It was the one thing needed to expose the purpose of the Tories and the Unionists to suppress in Ireland not simply crime but dissent from their political programme. Their bill—in the words of *The Methodist Times* (London)—"places the most sacred rights of men at the mercy of resident magistrates, always the mere creatures of the government, and practically abolishes freedom of speech, the liberty of the press, the right of association for political purposes and trial by jury. The Lord Lieutenant is armed with an authority the Governor of Poland might envy to strike down political organizations. Worst of all, these enactments are to be in force forever. For seven hundred years we have been robbing, torturing, murdering, and exiling the Irish race. But never until now has it been proposed to deprive the Irish nation forever of the rights and safeguards conceded to the most degraded and wicked Englishmen."

WE are glad to number among our Irish exchanges a bright and spirited weekly, *North and South*, which is the organ of the Protestant Home Rulers. It discusses the situation with sobriety and good judgment, as well as with sound patriotic feeling, and labors to awaken the interest of Irish Protestants in their own country by articles on Irish history, literature, archaeology, folklore, as Thomas Davis did in *The Nation* forty years ago. We are glad to see that the editors recognize the importance of manufactures to the prosperity of Ireland, and that in the last number they admit a letter from a landlord in reply to some of the agrarian sophisms which have been by far too current among Irish nationalists for the last ten years.

The paper is published in Dublin at six shillings and eight pence a year, and deserves the support of Irish Protestant Home Rulers in the United States.

MR. MANNING'S DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME.

FROM London, ex-Secretary Manning announces the Democratic programme for the next twelve months. It is, in brief, "Cleveland and the Reduction of the Tariff." Mr. Manning looks forward to the renomination of the President, and suggests the advisability of having the New York Democratic factions compose their differences in order to show a united front in the national convention. Without this, he suggests to them, Mr. Cleveland may be pressed by other States, and in the rush to renominate him his own may lose her lead.

While it is unquestionably true that many influential Democrats do not want Mr. Cleveland again, it is quite as certain that if he lives there will be no opposition in their convention to his second candidacy. Mr. Manning simply sees, as to this, what everybody else sees. But of very much more importance is his outline of the financial measures which are to be proposed in connection with it. He says, first, that the idea of the Treasury going into market to buy bonds "would not do at all," and "should not be maintained for a moment." "No party," he declares, "could pay a bonus to bondholders, and hold up its head in any campaign. The only proper way to get rid of the surplus is to reduce taxation."

What Mr. Manning means by reducing taxation is very well known. He left no room for doubt after his report from the Treasury, six months ago. He desires to reduce the tariff revenues, and his plan is to remove duties that are protective. He would not adopt the reasonable plan of abolishing, or at least diminishing, the sugar duty, because that seems to him a revenue feature which de-

serves retention, but he would so cut off duties in other directions as to make a hopeful start in the direction of Free Trade.

Whether this will be the Democratic programme of 1888 we shall see later. But meantime it is of interest to Republicans to consider what their own attitude toward the subject is to be. The financial problem remains substantially unchanged. Practically, the last Congress accomplished nothing toward its solution. The revenues remain excessive, the redeemable bonds are practically exhausted, and the surplus must rapidly pile up. This is a situation not tolerable, and its relief is necessary. The suggestion of buying four, or four-and-a-half per cents., in the open market, at their present premium is, as Mr. Manning says, preposterous. No party and, we may add, no financier, would venture to father such a scheme. What, then, is proposed? What is the Republican policy? It cannot be to break up the Tariff system, for Republican policy and Protection are identical. How, then, shall we deal with the problem of reducing revenue by reducing taxation? No plan, so far proposed, has had so much merit, or has so far commanded public approval, as the removal of the sugar duty. It is, to all intents and purposes, a tax. Its protective purpose has been tried and has not succeeded.

The repeal of the sugar duty, with an accompanying bounty to home production of sugar, would diminish the revenue over fifty millions of dollars per annum. This plan affords a broad basis for reaching a complete solution of the financial question. If so much reduction is not enough, other reductions can be added, until the necessary amount is reached. With this start, the remainder of the programme cannot be difficult.

In a party sense, the Republicans could desire nothing better than that the Democratic programme should be as Mr. Manning indicates. But to secure advantage from it they must be prepared with a better one of their own.

THE FLOOD OF IMMIGRATION.

IN one day of last week there were ten thousand immigrants landed at Castle Garden. At no time in our history was the number of those who seek our shores so great as it is this summer, although 8,620,000 persons have come hither in the last quarter of a century. In good part this rapid influx is due to the eviction campaign which is proceeding in Ireland. During the fifty years of Queen Victoria's happy and prosperous reign, 1,225,000 people have died of famine in Ireland; 3,668,000 have been evicted from their homes, being about 75 per cent. of the present population; and 4,186,000 have left the island. These figures are given by Mr. Mulhall in his "Fifty Years of National Progress," a book published in honor of the Queen's Jubilee. And while the jubilee year does not promise to be so rich in deaths by starvation as some of its predecessors, it will be beyond any recent average in evictions and consequent emigration.

There still are many Englishmen and a few Americans who will speak of this as a good thing for Ireland. Like the old-fashioned physicians, the old-fashioned economists had great faith in phlebotomy. Their *bête noir* was "over-population," and to that they traced all the misery of Ireland. If only the people were less chaste, and if the Catholic priesthood would not encourage them to marry at an early age, there might be some home-cure for Ireland's miseries. But as it was, there was nothing for it but emigration. This superstition lingers on in the face of facts, and is reinforced by the average Englishman's wish that the Irish would go, one and all. *The Times* once gave expression to this feeling, when it hoped for the day when a Celtic Irishman would be as rare on the banks of the Liffey or the Shannon, as a red Indian is on the banks of the Hudson or the Delaware. D'Israeli echoed it when he told Parliament that the famine had done more for Ireland than all the statesmanship of England had been able to effect. Lord Salisbury takes up the sentiment when he says that a million people fewer in Ireland would simplify greatly the Irish problem.

The truth is that emigration has been a dead loss to Ireland, except as it has enabled her exiles to send home their savings "to keep the house over the heads" of their parents. It is the young, the energetic, the hopeful, who leave Ireland, and those who have a trifle saved to start them in the new world, after paying their passage. The deepest stratum of poverty cannot get out of the island. The next deepest may muster the price of a passage to America, but would be sent back as moneyless paupers. Uncle Sam admits no one empty-handed. The 8,620,000 of our immigration since the war broke out, have added a vast sum to the monetary resources of our country. And they have added still more to its available capital, in brain and muscle. Dr. Sullivan, President of Queen's College in Cork,—a high authority in such matters,—estimates that every emigrant who leaves Ireland takes with him, apart from money, the results of the outlay of £100, for which he has made no return to his country. At this rate Ireland has lost \$2,093,000,000 in the last fifty years, or much more than half the amount of the national debt of the United Kingdom, or more than the national debt of the United States. How long is this depletion to continue before the patient is cured? Is it until the island's food supply equals the wants of the population? But it now feeds by the export of its harvest and dairies, twice or three times its own population. Or is it until there are not enough Irish left to form a Land League? By that time there will be enough in America to make John Bull more uncomfortable than if he had them all at home.

This flight to America not only from Ireland, but from other parts of Europe, is a tribute to our national policy. From Central Europe many come to escape the pressure of an exhausting military system. Men leave Germany, for instance, in order that neither they nor their children may be obliged to spend three or four of the best years of life in a barracks. But in the main it is the economic condition which drives them from their homes. They are flying from the cheapness, which Free Traders regard as the chief end of national economy, to find a better living in a land which legislates for its producers as well as its consumers. They are flying from that "cheapest market" which the Free Trader promises them, to find markets in which the relation of the price of what they buy to what they sell is more favorable to them. They are flying from lands where the workman is only the instrument of industry, to one in which he is regarded as an end in himself. "At home I was a puddler; here I am a man," said an English workman who had settled in Pittsburg.

And America can open her arms of welcome to all free, unimported, uncontracted labor, which seeks our shores. Every new comer who accepts the American standard of living enlarges the market for the products of the rest. We need no more restriction than we now have in the law which shuts out coolies from both East and West. Especially the Irish workman, while he has his faults, is seen to be one who fits himself into the American system of life, accepts cordially the established order of the country, and if he has not been wisely guided always as to his political course, is yet showing signs of laudable progress. He is no Anarchist.

PUBLIC DEBTS SCIENTIFICALLY CONSIDERED.¹

DR. ADAMS deserves the thanks of all students of finance, both in this country and abroad, for this able and thorough essay on Public Debts. The literature on finance in English is extraordinarily meagre, when one considers that next to the Italians the English have tried more financial experiments than any other people. The very language of commerce and finance is composed largely of English terms. And yet English writers have as yet given us nothing worthy of the name of a treatise on the science of finance. Adam, Smith, Ricardo, McCulloch, and Mill have all contributed something to the solution of special financial problems. Such works as Colwell's "Ways and Means of Payment" are rare indeed in any language, but it is after all limited to, one might almost say, a single aspect of the subject. We have abso-

¹PUBLIC DEBTS. An Essay in the Science of Finance. By Henry C. Adams, Ph.D., of the University of Michigan and Cornell University. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1887.

lutely nothing which can for a moment compare with the works of Beaulieu or Wagner or Stein or even Roschen, in this field. If one examines the list of books appended to Mr. David A. Wells' article on Taxation in Lalor's Cyclopædia one can get some notion of the very limited range of ideas on this topic open to those who can read only English or French. Scarcely a leading work on this subject is there mentioned except Beaulieu's, and yet the list includes all the treatises to which "the leading authority on taxation in America" had access, when investigating the subject.

Dr. Adams has in the present book given us a work¹ on one phase of finance which corresponds more nearly than any other English book to Nebenius' great treatise "*der öffentliche Kredit*." It will undoubtedly take a prominent place, as it deserves, in the list of our financial works. The book is divided into three parts, treating respectively 1, "Of Public Borrowing, as a Financial Policy;" 2, "Of National Deficit Financiering;" 3, "Of Local Debt Financiering." The first part contains five chapters, discussing (1) "Modern Public Debts;" (2) "Political Tendencies of Public Debts;" (3) "Social Tendencies of Public Debts;" (4) "Industrial Effects of Public Debts;" (5) "When may States borrow Money?" The second part discusses, also in five chapters, (1) "Financial Management of a War;" (2) "Classification of Public Debts;" (3) "Liquidation of War Accounts;" (4) "Peace Management of a Public Debt;" (5) "Payment of Public Debts." Part III. treats in four chapters, of (1) "Comparison of Local with National Debts;" (2) "State Indebtedness between 1820 and 1850;" (3) "Municipal Indebtedness;" (4) "Policy of Restricting Government Duties."

The book is written from an American point of view entirely. Most of the illustrations are drawn from our own history, and indeed it will be found that the various chapters contain a fairly good view of our national experience on the topics which they discuss. So completely is this point of view represented that in some instances it prevents the author from doing justice to the ideas and experience of foreign nations. This is notably the case where he discusses (pp. 85 and following) the policy of a war reserve.

He distinguishes between the Prussian and English systems in this respect; the former requiring that the government shall maintain a certain cash reserve in the treasury for emergencies, and which may immediately be drawn upon, in case of an unexpected war, for example. Dr. Adams condemns this plan altogether as "working against self-government, leading to industrial confusion and embarrassing sound financial administration." A more careful study of the political and economic history of continental countries, we cannot but think, would have changed Dr. Adams' ultimate conclusion in regard to this point. All that he says is undoubtedly true, but it holds equally of any other system which would serve the same purpose. We must remember, also, that a war-fund may accomplish what would be probably absolutely impossible under other circumstances. Nearly all authorities, for example, are agreed that it was the Prussian war-fund which enabled the Prussian Government to mobilize and move its armies so rapidly in 1866, that they were well on toward Vienna before the Austrians were fairly awake to what was going on. It was again the war-fund of the North German Confederation and Prussia which enabled Germany to move its armies immediately into France in 1870. A financial device which made all the difference between having the Austrian war fought out in Bohemia instead of in Prussia, and which transferred the scene of operations in 1870 from before Berlin to around the walls of Paris, may fairly lay claim to be considered successful. For even though it does require a cash accumulation in the treasury which might otherwise "fructify in the pockets of the people," it would take a long time for such a fund to fructify to such an extent as to make good the ravages of a campaign or two, with a million men engaged on either side.

Decidedly the most interesting and important part of the work is that devoted to the discussion of the problems of the State and local finance. On these topics Dr. Adams speaks some healthy words which are none the less true that they run counter to the prevailing prejudices of would-be reformers in city and State politics. It is a noteworthy fact that nearly all our attempts of late years to purify our local and general politics run in the direction of restricting the powers of government in various respects. This is peculiarly true of the debt contracting authority of the State and community. Nearly every State in the Union has imposed grave restrictions on its State and local governments in the matter of contracting debts. Dr. Adams calls attention to the fact that such restrictions are also practical checks upon the functions of these bodies. The whole domain of public improvement assumes an entirely different form when the government may undertake none which it cannot pay for out of the income of current taxes.

This is well illustrated in the city of Philadelphia. Nearly every great public improvement which we have dates its beginning and culmination from the debt contracting period. And since we have lost the power to contract new debts it would seem

as if we had lost the power of obtaining improvements. Our gas works, our water works, our schools, our bridges, our drainage,—all are under lasting obligations to this form of financiering; and they are all now falling behind, and have been doing so for ten years, or what in this connection is the same thing, are not improving as rapidly as our wealth and population.

Dr. Adams is the first writer on these topics to face the facts as they are, and to insist that regular resort to the use of public credit is a fundamental necessity if our municipalities and States are to properly fulfil the functions which our modern industrial and social development is forcing upon them. He also sets forth in a clear light the political result of limiting the functions of our State governments, which occurred in the period of reaction following the great rage for internal improvements, showing how the emasculation of the State government inevitably tends to strengthen and extends the power and sphere of the Federal Government. It is thus by a certain irony of fate that the Democratic party, which always magnifies the importance of the State at expense of the Union, is itself chiefly responsible for a policy which has finally remanded the State government to a place of comparative insignificance in the onward sweep of our political and social progress. We can cordially commend Dr. Adams' work to the careful consideration of those interested in the problems of city reform.

E. J. J.

WESTERN LIFE IN FICTION.¹

IN "Zury" Mr. Kirkland has given us a book so true to the conditions and spirit of early life in the West, with a hero so original, so indomitable, and so completely in harmony with the natural forces which advance civilization, that we are tempted to say at the outset, "Here is the great American novel!"

"Great are the toils and terrible the hardships that go to the building up of a frontier farm," so the story begins; and then we have faithfully and vividly described the arduous hand-to-hand struggle with the unbroken prairie of Ephraim Proudler and his family, who left Pennsylvania to settle in Illinois some fifty years ago on "six hundred n' forty acres o' the finest land th't ever laid out doors." Mr. Kirkland evidently knows the life he depicts down to the very heart of the subject, and he has told his story with a humor, a tenderness, yet a grim realism which are admirable alike in their force and in their self-restraint. The early part of the novel, at least, we can praise unreservedly. We know of nothing better in recent literature. There is both truth and beauty in his pictures, which nowhere deviate from nature herself, and his account of the conquest of the Proudler farm is an epic. Zury, Ephraim's son, is the single figure of the book which makes everything subordinate. His character is a study of the native power in a man brought face to face with hard conditions; whose intellect is applied to everyday necessities; to whom simply any obstacle is something to surmount; who is acted on by the spur of necessity to use his wit, resource, and more than all, his strength, just to live. In Zury, indeed, we see the full play of those forces which have made civilization possible and redeemed man from savagery; they were such men who advanced the Stone age to the Iron age, and gave houses to cave-dwellers. Difficulties and dangers which paralyzed poor worn-out Ephraim Proudler were inspiration to Zury. But let the boy do all he might, he could not conquer the climate, and the hard winter killed the "li'l sister," who had to be buried under the snow drifts till spring. "All this poverty, toil and distress, and terrible need of money made a deep impression on the forming mind of the youth; and being of a logical turn he 'put this and that together' and drew conclusions fitted to the premises as he saw them. Money was life; the absence of money was death. 'All that a man hath will he give for his life; ergo all that a man hath will he give for his money.'" It was the death of the baby-girl that hardened Zury's heart and made him the "meanest man in Spring County." The story of the first corn crop is one of the best things in American literature. Every stage of the growth of the corn has its name in that uncouth prairie dialect; "brakin'"; "plantin'"; "corn-up"; "wunst through"; "laid-by"; "toss-lin'"; "Corn-in-the-milk"; "ros'n' ear"; "shockin'"; "gather-in'." Up to the time when it is "laid-by,"—that is when the stalks are broad and tall and strong enough to shadow and crowd out the contending weeds,—Ephraim and Zury had to fight nature as if fighting dragons. "Corn-laid-by," Zury had a chance to luxuriate over the beauty of the "great green forest of rollicking standards." He watched the corn-field all day, then went to bed saying, "It'll be a-growin' all night while we're asleep." But care was still behind them on the crupper, and although the corn crop was safe, Zury had to set his wits to work to keep it, not to

¹ZURY: The Meanest Man in Spring County. By Joseph Kirkland. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1887.

THEOPHILUS TRENT: Old Times in the Oak Openings. By B. F. Taylor. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1887.

let all this hard work go for naught; and he had still to fight debt, mortgages, all the evils that their terrible want of money necessitated. He was successful in everything, but when he emerged from the struggle his success seemed likely to have been gained at the cost of all the finer qualities of his nature. He was honest; as he said of himself, "Honest, Me? Wal, I guess so. Firstly, I wouldn't be noth'n' else, nohaow; seck'ndly, I kin 'fford t' be, seenin' s' how it takes a full bag t' stand alone; thirdly, I can't 'afford t' be noth'n' else, coz honesty's the best policy." Some pretty good stories of his sharp dealings are deftly told as illustrative touches of his character. Mean though he is called, he is gay at heart, shrewd, wise, and inexhaustible in spirit and resource. In fact, we can hardly say enough in praise of the author's freshness and vigor of detail, everywhere presenting his chief character. All he required to make his work a master-piece was to go on and develop his drama, with the same healthiness of instinct, good sense and fidelity to nature, with which he projected it. Unfortunately for him, for the reader, and for the success of the book, in this he has calamitously failed. He has given us quite unnecessarily a heroine with too much history in the past, and with an unfortunate tendency in the present to become the victim of circumstances. Yet we fail to see what purpose it serves in the story to have made Anne Sparrow just the person that she is. The author seems indeed, quite unnecessarily, to have besmeared the character of a bright, good, loveable woman. We quote a suggestive passage from which he says about her past: "A young doctor who had attended her mother in her last illness had a great influence among the 'come-outers' and Anne joined their ranks under his guidance. The whole story of the New England 'Socialistic movement' has never been told, and probably never will be; certainly not until the generation of its actors shall have passed away. The Annals of Brook Farm give only the surface of events. As to Anne's part in it, we need not inquire how far from the beaten tracks her 'broad views' led her. Whatever she did was not done from wickedness; it was in accordance with her honest opinions of right and wrong, and not in violation of them. Her lips are sealed; she had neither praise nor blame to bestow on her former friends at the time when she begins to be connected with our story. That is, when her theories, her independence, her pride, her strength, her weakness, had led her far out into the West."

This allusion to a dubious past gives the reader a misgiving about the heroine from the first, and it is a matter of regret that the woman appointed to redeem Zury from his meanness should not have been as honest in her way as he was in his. Even if we treat the situation with the lofty magnanimity and absence of prejudice which characterize the author in telling the story of Anne and her two children, we must still remark that it is to say the least uncomfortable, and that it seems to us untrue to the general conditions of the frontier life he has otherwise so well depicted,—for society, in order to advance, has always to keep itself wholesome in the fundamental moralities.

We regret to find fault with the book, which except for this blemish, might have been a really brilliant success. The humor of the author ought to have preserved him from the mistake he has made, for humor can be almost as infallible a touch-stone as good taste, and tends to keep the balance between right and wrong, sense and folly. In general, this sense has served him well, hindering excess of sentiment and giving effective touches to the description and the racy dialogues. The book is wholly western in spirit, and constantly reflects western pride in having by individual energy and genius transformed the great, empty, meaningless void of prairie and forest into something modern and habitable. Zury begins with an "old-timey" log cabin, but ends with a fine modern house, conservatories, gas, hot and cold water, a bathroom where one of the primitive settlers takes a "tub." "I feel jest like we wur a-floatin' in th' clauds o' heaven," she says, which is, I take it, the universal western thanksgiving over their present privileges.

The author hints at a possible sequel to his present story, but we would rather have the beginning over again than a sequel,—another early settler, another idyl of the corn, another Zury, another dog "Shep."

"Theophilus Trent, or Old Times in the Oak Openings" offers an entire contrast to "Zury." While the latter goes to the very bottom of the subject, "Theophilus Trent" is a pleasant, dreamy study of old days and old scenes, the result of general experience and impressions. Nothing is actual or gives a life-like impression, and what little story there is is used chiefly as the vehicle to carry along the author's personal ideas. Theophilus Trent is a hopeful but unsuccessful pedagogue, and his school-teaching experience, his courtship, his honeymoon, his disheartenments generally, are recounted in a kindly spirit and a leisurely way. The book, no doubt, contains matter which has a basis of fact in the author's own experiences and traditions of life in the old times in the oak openings of Michigan (to be pronounced Michi-gan—accent on the

last syllable, the author insists), but they are not so strikingly brought out as to be effective to the eastern reader. We have recently reviewed Mr. Taylor's poems, so well known in the West, and perhaps it may be said that his prose reflects the sentiment and brooding spirit of his verse.

THE NEW INDIAN POLICY: LAND IN SEVERALTY.

THE readers of THE AMERICAN are generally aware that we have steadily supported the policy of making the Indians citizens, and giving them separate holdings of land, as proposed in the bill of Senator Dawes, which passed Congress last winter. This measure, however, has been earnestly opposed by a number, comparatively a few persons,—of those who have taken an active interest in the welfare of the Indians, and is especially complained of, now, because of the omission from the bill, after it had once been inserted, of the clause requiring the consent of a majority of a tribe to be had before the law would apply to them. Desiring to give a fair hearing to all sides of this interesting subject, we print below a letter from Dr. T. A. Bland, of Washington, opposing the new measure. Dr. Bland has become well known to those engaged in the Indian work, and his strenuous opposition to what has generally been thought the best policy for the Indians has given him the repute among many of being simply an unreasonable and mischievous person. It is only fair to say, however, that while he may be wrong in judgment—as we think he is—as to whether the time has come for setting out in the new way, his desire to prevent the Indians from being despoiled of their lands, appears to us sincere, and as all who are concerned in this philanthropy will agree upon the great need of guarding the Indians' rights, any light shed upon this branch of the subject is of real value.—EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN.

LETTER FROM DR. BLAND.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN:

The Government of the United States has, from the first, held to the view of William Penn that the Indian tribes own the land which they occupy, and in pursuance of this just position it has been the uniform practice to acquire possession of Indian lands only by treaties with the tribes. The Indian tribes have sacredly kept their treaties with the United States, but the United States has not fully and honestly kept a single treaty entered into with an Indian tribe. This is sufficient to account for the numerous and bloody conflicts between the two races. President Grant's declared purpose to "treat the Indians more humanely and justly than they had been treated" had the effect to arouse the slumbering sense of justice in the hearts of the people, as it had not till then been aroused in behalf of the Indian. Eighteen years have passed since those noble words of Grant were spoken. The heaven has been at work, but it has not yet leavened the whole lump of American selfishness. The idea that education, industrial and literary, would solve the Indian problem, has been accepted by the mass of our people, and the Government has entered actively upon the enterprise of educating the Indian youth. In 1876, \$100,000 was appropriated by Congress for Indian education. This year the appropriation is \$1,100,000. One-fourth of the Indian children are now being educated. There is reason for hope that Congress would continue to increase the appropriations for Indian schools until, within a few years, all Indian children could be educated, if the present policy should continue. Then, in that case, the next generation of Indians would be prepared to intelligently become citizens of the United States, and adopt, in all regards, the civilization and modes of life of the whites. This is a consummation most earnestly to be desired. The wisest of the Indians look hopefully forward to this solution of the Indian problem. In a speech at a Fourth of July celebration, in Chadron, Nebraska, last year, Red Cloud, the distinguished Sioux chief, said: "The day of the Indian is gone. Our hunting grounds are blotted out. Our path is fenced up. There is no longer any room in this country for the Indian. He must become a white man or die. Our ancestors once owned this whole country. They were then a proud people. Now the country belongs to people who came from across the sea. They have blotted out the Indian trail and in its place they have made a new road. We must travel with them in this new road. I have been walking in the white man's road for many years. I ask my people to follow me."

The Dawes Land in Severalty Bill would paralyze the efforts of the Government and of missionary societies to educate the Indians. How would it do this? The answer is plain. When under the provisions of this bill, Indians are assigned land in severalty, they cease to be members of their tribe and wards of the Government, and become citizens of the Territory or State in which they reside. When, therefore, all the members of a tribe have had lands assigned them, and been made citizens, the tribe ceases to exist, and, of course, all relations between the tribe and the Gov-

ernment ceases. All obligations between the United States and the tribe cease, and the United States becomes the legal heir to all moneys, lands, etc., formerly belonging to the defunct tribe. This is a feature which, I opine, few friends of the Indians have reflected upon; but which constitutes in the minds of the members of the Indian Defence Association, a chief objection to the bill. Another objection is that it reverses the time-honored policy of the Government, under which the Indians have always been consulted about the disposition of their lands. They have usually done as the Government desired they should do; but the courtesy extended to them in asking their consent was appreciated.

This severalty bill authorizes the President, practically the Secretary of the Interior, to order any Indian reservation (except nine of the most civilized tribes), surveyed like ordinary public lands, and divided into townships, sections, quarter sections, etc., and still further subdivided into 80-acre and 40-acre lots. This is to be done without consulting the Indians who own the reservation. After the surveys are made the Indians are to be informed that each head of a family may select a quarter section of land, each unmarried adult 80 acres, etc. If any Indian refuses or neglects to select a homestead within four years, the Government agent is to select it for him, whether he consents or protests. It is understood by those who understand Indians, and especially by those who covet the lands of the Indians, that but few Indians will select allotments within the four years. What then? Why, Government agents will be sent to select lands for the Indians. These agents will be politicians who have done party service. The railroad lobbyists and the land sharks will meet them on the border of the reservation, and tender their services as assistants in the work. In a recent speech in Boston, (see *Boston Post* of March 19), General Armstrong, superintendent Hampton Institute, said: "It will be in the power of these men to cheat the Indians without violating the letter of the law and they will have pecuniary temptation to do it." In a speech before the Conference of the Board of Indian Commissioners, in Washington, last winter, (see *Washington Critic* for January 7), the author of this bill, Senator Dawes, said: "If my land-in-severalty bill should become a law, it will depend entirely on the character of the Government agents, who execute its provisions, whether it is a success or a failure. If it be intrusted to men of unflinching honesty and broad views, the Indians will be secure in the possession of homes on the best lands of the reservations; but if it is intrusted to dishonest men, the Indians will be cheated out of their lands."

At the instance of the National Indian Defence Association the Indian Committee of the House of Representatives amended the Dawes bill as follows: "Provided that the provisions of this Act shall not apply to any Indian tribe until the consent of a majority of the adult male members of the tribe shall be first had and obtained." On the adoption of this amendment the Association withdrew all opposition to the bill. We did not know that our amendment had been stricken out until after the bill had passed the House. On inquiring of Messrs. Peel, of Arkansas, and Skinner, of North Carolina, who had charge of the bill in the House, these members informed us that our amendment was dropped at the request of Senator Dawes, who said: "This amendment would defeat the object of my bill." This statement proves that his object is to coerce the Indians.

Against this coercive act we protest, and we are resolved to make our protest in the Courts of the United States, provided any Indian tribe should ask us to do so. We have high legal authority for the opinion that the act is unconstitutional; hence we are hopeful of success in the effort to defeat its execution. If it is not, then the Government can arbitrarily confiscate to private use the lands of any railroad company or other corporation.

"What shall we do with the Indian?" On behalf of the Association I in part represent, I answer, keep faith with him. Fulfill the treaties we have made with him until, with his consent, they shall be modified or annulled. Educate him, or pay him the money we owe him and let him educate his own children as the Cherokees have done, and which all Indian tribes would do if given control of their own affairs, as the Cherokees have had. Pursue this policy, and in due time the Indians, as a people, will become civilized, intelligent, industrious, law-abiding citizens of the United States, having voluntarily abandoned their laws, their religion, their modes of life, and their system of holding land, and adopted ours. On the other hand, pursue the policy of the Dawes Severalty Bill and, in the language of Senator Dolph, of Oregon, in a speech on this bill when it was before the Senate last winter: "We should, within a few years, after their lands had become alienable, have a quarter of a million of Indian paupers thrown upon the country to be supported by the public treasury, or private charity." Or, as Gen. Francis A. Walker puts it, "If this policy of land in severalty and citizenship should be put in force, before the Indians are educated so as to intelligently accept our form of government and our system of holding lands, it would be

but a few years before the majority of them would be in the condition of the gypsies of the old world, but with less ability to eke out a subsistence than the gypsies possess."

T. A. BLAND,
Cor. Sec. National Indian Defence Association.
Washington, D. C.

COMMERCIAL UNION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA: A DISCUSSION.

IV.

NOVA SCOTIAN ARGUMENTS AGAINST COMMERCIAL UNION.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN:

THE discussion on the question of Commercial Union between the United States and Canada which is being carried on through the columns of THE AMERICAN will have a tendency to bring out all obtainable information bearing on this important subject, and finally present it in such shape that the public will be able to judge of the question in its largest light. This may be a step toward discovering how a majority of intelligent citizens really look upon the proposition to remove all commercial barriers between the English-speaking nations of North America. So far, this question, of such vital interest to every resident of Canada, and so widely important to millions of Americans, has not reached the stage where the average man is likely to take it under serious consideration. The papers in all sections of the Dominion have had a great deal to say about commercial union. These arguments, for and against, are almost innumerable, and usually attractive enough when one does not hear the other side. But, as a rule, these expressions do not come from those who are in a position to comprehend the magnitude of the proposed business revolution, or of the questions which will demand answers immediately after it has been brought about. Some of the articles that have recently appeared in Canadian journals, presuming to show why this radical change should be effected at once, are surprisingly vague and illogical, and many effusions presenting the opposite view are equally general, inconclusive, and wide of the real mark. On the one hand, fishermen, farmers, lumbermen, and miners, seem to desire commercial union; on the other, manufacturers and a large proportion of wealthy merchants do not want the custom-houses abolished, or any reduction of the duty on American goods, except in a few instances. The first class is undoubtedly the most numerous; but the latter is the most influential. Thus far the Canadian money kings have been able to control the views of the leaders in both political parties. Both of the classes mentioned argue from their respective standpoints, and neither is able to look the question squarely in the face and decide upon it after studying its full import.

If we are to investigate this matter upon an international basis, where we will find the only ground from which a final decision can be reached, we must consider the respective wants and preferences of Canada and her gigantic neighbor. In the first place, we see a young country still trammelled by the difficulties which beset all infant nationalities. The expenses incurred that the country's resources may be developed have rolled up an enormous public debt, and this weight hangs like a millstone about the neck of the Dominion. Canada may be a youthful Titan, but all her strength is required to carry this load and at the same time support her enormously expensive civil service. With the present revenue it is nearly impossible to meet obligations as they become due, and any change which would tend to materially contract this income must occasion national bankruptcy. How would the revenue of the Dominion be affected by commercial union? The large sums received from duties on goods imported from the United States would be totally lost, and we cannot doubt that many Canadian manufacturers would suffer to a serious extent, without a counterbalancing advantage to others. Thus, the country would not only lose the frontier tax, but also experience a severe reduction of internal revenue. It is also evident, that with a free entry of Yankee productions many of our heaviest merchants would be unable to retain a large share of their most valuable trade. The present monetary situations of Canada and the United States are such that whenever their interests come in contact upon anything near equal chances, the smaller country is bound to suffer. With no other defence save that provided by distance the Canadians cannot hope to hold their own. The advantages which unlimited commercial intercourse with American traders would bring to Canadians who are not in any way connected with our manufactories, must be considered as very great, but hardly sufficient to offset the loss that would fall upon the national revenue. These are some of the strongest arguments which may be urged against commercial union, and their force is generally admitted by those who are earnest advocates of a national reciprocity. As for the Americans, whose factories are usually able to turn out more productions than

they are able to dispose of, we cannot blame them for wanting additional markets, and a free swing through Canada to them would certainly be a great advantage.

But there is another and more potent reason why the portions of Canada west and north of New Brunswick should hesitate before removing all restriction to the introduction of American merchandise. The maritime provinces are distinguished from the rest of the Dominion, because, as has often been proved, their most important interests are separate. In the true Canada one may observe the germ of nationality. But the Atlantic States exhibit no qualities which could make them full portions of such a country. If the Dominion is ever to become a nation in the fullest sense of the term, it will only find elements of weakness in the people residing in that part of its territory from which the rest of it is partially separated by the obtrusive prominence of Maine. The union between these sections was never either natural or happy, and the quicker a complete separation is brought about, the better it will be for both parties. If the Canada we have designated becomes commercially united with the Republic, a firm protective tariff against the rest of the world will be the natural sequence. These new world countries would thus enter into an offensive and defensive business alliance against the goods of other nations, and practically exclude the greater part of that which is produced beyond their own borders. On such a foundation only one structure can be erected. When the interests of all occupations have become the same as they would be if there were only one country, an absolute and permanent business union has been accomplished; and the road upon which we travel to reach this stage will certainly lead us onward to a political consolidation. For Canada, commercial union with the United States, means the annexation of Canada to the United States. The more thoughtful and reflective statesmen on both sides of the line see that such an end is not desirable. Under an honest government Canada will have every prospect of increasing in population and national strength, until the time when in the natural course of events her people have reached the position that will entitle them to rightfully demand independence. There is a certain amount of annexation talk in some Ontario and Quebec papers; but the real sentiment of these provinces is clearly unfavorable to any such movement. Judging from the most reliable accounts that come from the States, we should say that the bulk of American people are not anxious for Canada to become a part of their country, which is already extensive enough to suit the most ambitious. Some ten or fifteen years ago, the citizens of Chelsea, Massachusetts, by a large majority voted in favor of annexation to Boston. But the gentle citizens of the "Hub" saw through the business, and by a most emphatic verdict at the polls, refused to accept the gift of the town while it was staggering under an enormous municipal debt. If Canada should ask for admittance to the Federal Union while bending under its present immense obligations, our Yankee friends might wisely invite her to stay at home, and explain that their shoulders are already burdened with all the national debt they care to sustain.

ADDISON F. BROWNE.

Halifax, N. S., May 11.

WEEKLY NOTES.

AMONG the protests sent the Inter-State Commerce Commissioners against the suspension of the long-and-short-haul clause, is one from a small town in Georgia, Newnan. "We respectfully submit," say the remonstrants, "that the enforcement of the fourth section means the growth of the smaller towns, means more large towns and fewer large cities; that the distribution of industries and population among the smaller towns, which must follow the equalization of freight tariffs, will bring the consumer, the manufacturer, and the producer in close proximity, and give to both the manufacturer and producer a home market, and secure the prosperity of all."

Newnan had, in 1880, about 2,000 population. It has probably made more growth since. Its representation to the Commissioners shows a clear appreciation of the momentous influences which are to be exercised, or not exercised, according as the idea of proportioning freight rates to distance shall prevail.

* * *

ANOTHER protest against the suspension of the clause was that sent from Prescott, Arizona. That city's Board of Trade says:

"We here in the interior have been unmercifully treated and discriminated against for the last six years by the railroads. For instance, we have been charged from St. Louis to Prescott from \$700 to \$1,300 per car, while the same kind of goods would go to San Francisco for from \$125 to \$250 per car. The distance from St. Louis to San Francisco over the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe road and the Atlantic and Pacific road is about 2,600 miles; from St. Louis to Prescott about 1,700 miles."

REVIEWS.

CUORE: AN ITALIAN SCHOOLBOY'S JOURNAL. A book for boys. By Edmondo de Amicis. Translated from the thirty-ninth Italian edition by Isabel F. Hapgood. Pp. 326. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

THERE are two points of view from which this book may be regarded. The first is the claim it makes to our attention by reason of the vast circulation it has had in Italy. It is true that in a country where good boys are rewarded with books as prizes at the close of every school session, a book may obtain a great sale because it commends itself to the givers rather than the receivers of such prizes. But when all allowance is made for this, we still find the total of nearly forty editions an imposing one. To have reached that figure, "Cuore" must have reached the liking of the class for which it was written.

That its popularity has been so great must indicate a great lack of good books for boys in Italy. And no doubt there is such a want. Of popular chap-books there is a plenty; and children may feed their imaginations upon ancient tales of terror and bravery without stint. But a modern children's literature is very little developed, and consists largely of translations from the French. Here is a book which does not deal with the marvellous, which is Italian, patriotic, and not irreligious, and which abounds in good moral lessons. In other countries it would have many competitors: in Italy it has very few. So it has had a popularity which would make the writers of books for English or American boys envious; its success being not because it is better than theirs, but because it has fewer competitors. And it has interest in being not only a book such as grown people wish boys to read, but such as the boys must have relished very heartily.

But when we contemplate the book in its translation as meant for American boys, we feel a want of adaptation. For this part of the world it is very much behind the times. It belongs to the class to which "Sanford and Merton" or "Jack Halyard" belonged. It probably would have been quite popular if it had appeared on the list of juveniles fifty years ago. But the boy's books of to-day are of a different type. We find them no longer overloaded with morals, until the story is like the currant jelly which envelops a dose of jalap. The sense of humor, even where there is no humor in the story, has driven over-much edification out of fashion. People do not see why books for children, as well as for grown persons, may not be constructed to give delight; or why children should be lectured on every page in a way their elders would not endure. Now in Signor de Amicis's book the moral is always in sight. The boys are good boys or bad boys, without the mixture in character which experience always furnishes. The most admirable sentiments are enforced upon them by their teachers and their parents, on every proper occasion. Partly, this is a matter of race. The Latin people are fond of moralizings. But partly it is a matter of retarded development, which keeps the Italians just a little priggish in their treatment of the young, and the young of Italy receptive to such treatment. The things which have become our unconscious assumptions, which we are as impatient of having reiterated as of hearing the multiplication table, seem to still furnish delight to Italian, French, and Spanish teachers of all ages.

But apart from these peculiarities, the book has an interest to general readers as a presumably faithful picture of school-life in Italy.

MRS. SIDDONS. By Nina A. Kennard. (Famous Women Series.) Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1887.

Mrs. Siddons has not been fortunate in her biographers, nor can Mrs. Kennard be said to have greatly bettered the case. The "Lives" of Campbell, Boaden, and Percy Fitzgerald are either grandiose and stilted, or feeble and flippant. Boaden gives the best idea of the Kemble period, yet his book is a wild tissue of error, which theatrical historians have been vainly endeavoring to straighten out ever since it appeared. As far as Mrs. Kennard's book goes it is manifestly more correct than any of its predecessors; there has been opportunity to correct some of the mistakes of earlier biographers, and important family letters, etc., are here made use of for the first time. Its correctness on its own lines can hardly be impeached, yet it is a painfully inadequate work from almost every view—artistic, professional, historical. The record of the eventful stage-period in England between Garrick and Kean, made by Mrs. Kennard, is so trivial as to show of itself that this writer was not the person to make it. And it cannot be said that there was no such demand made upon the biographer,—that her concern was entirely with a central figure and not with the picture as a whole. She could manifestly do nothing with her chief object of interest unless she showed its relations to the time and the entire surroundings, and this has not been done with any effect, although there are a few wavering attempts. The next most serious failure

of the book is the insufficient stress laid upon Siddons as an artist. The record here is vague and incoherent. Whole terms of the actress's working career, five and ten years at a time, are passed over in a few lines, and in general it may be said her stage life is hardly more than indicated. No attempt is made to give us an idea of Siddons as an actress, except in one part,—"Lady Macbeth,"—and that is a poor attempt; there is but passing reference to a half dozen rôles in which she was almost as famous as in "Lady Macbeth," while of the main body of her labors there is no intimation. A life of an actress which does not give as complete as possible a list of parts acted by her, with dates, classification, and analytical remarks thereon, is practically labor wasted for both writer and reader.

From the personal standpoint, Mrs. Kennard is more successful. She gives a fairly faithful portrait of Siddons, the woman, wife, and mother,—largely through letting the subject paint her own portrait by means of familiar letters. Yet this, we may assume, is not so much what people are anxious to obtain in reading about the world's greatest actress, nor is the picture drawn with such care a very agreeable one. Siddons is shown to have been not only an extravagantly rhetorical person, but vain, selfish, mercenary, ungrateful, and—if it must be said—untruthful. She was also a good wife and a devoted mother, and the example from this approach is edifying. Not so edifying is Mrs. Kennard's very emotional talk of the "troubles" of her heroine. She had, through partings and disappointments, her share of the mortal struggle laid upon all who love, but this, as *Hamlet* says, is "common"—it does not count. As an artist, Mrs. Siddons, after she took her high place early in life, was uniformly successful; of trouble of that kind she had virtually none, except such as she made for herself by jealousy and greed. Of the severity of her professional labors, also, the present biographer contrives to give a curiously perverted impression. A good deal has been said of late of the comparatively easy times enjoyed by modern actors through "long runs," etc., but it can be easily proved that through increased numbers of performances, matinees, etc., actors now work harder than they did in the Kemble days. Companies then were larger and were elaborately divided by "lines of business," and while programmes were frequently changed, the leading performers were not constantly "in the bill." We can make room for but a single instance of Mrs. Kennard's amusing ignorance of the stage. After the burning of Covent Garden Theatre, and the temporary transfer of the Kemble company to the Haymarket, we are told: "Between September 12, 1808, and May 6, 1809, she acted no less than forty times! The wear and tear of this work on a woman of her years—she was now over fifty—must have been great indeed. All seemed to depend on her masculine strength of will and energy." Unless there is a misprint here, (of the contradiction of the last two sentences we say nothing), this exertion amounted to acting about once a week. It is the fact, though, that after she became famous, Siddons averaged, one season after another, about three performances a week. In our day—to give but one example—Janauschek, an artist over sixty years of age, acts always seven and sometimes eight times a week, besides undergoing fatigues of travel of which Mrs. Siddons had no conception.

G. W. A.

THE KERNEL AND THE HUSK. Letters on Spiritual Christianity. By the [Rev. Edwin Abbott, D. D.] Author of "Philochristus" and "Onesimus." Pp. 375. Boston: Roberts Bros.

In this book we have the elaboration of the theory of the Gospel story which was indicated in "Philochristus," and more fully put forward in "Onesimus"—the two ablest attempts to clothe that history in the form of fiction that we have found. Dr. Abbott is a clergyman of the English Church of the broadest type of theology sanctioned within her comprehensive borders. He distinctly rejects the miraculous element from the Gospels and the Acts, as accretions which attached themselves to the story of the Church's origin before or soon after the first written records of that story were made. He thinks that many miraculous stories grew out of a misunderstanding of passages in the Old Testament, as for example, the "miraculous conception" out of Isaiah, IX. And he thinks that if the modern faith in the established order of nature had been as potent in the thought of that age as in our own these additions never would have been heard of.

At the same time Dr. Abbott avows his faith in the supernatural, in the efficacy of prayer, in the freedom of the will, and in many other things whose denial generally accompanies the denial of miracles. He holds even to the doctrine of the incarnation, to the worship of Jesus Christ as the Eternal Son of God who reveals the Father to men, who always was the object of the Father's love, and who is the judge and the Saviour of men. He accepts the view of him which is set forth in the Gospel of John, because that view is authenticated by history and experience.

Of course this peculiar combination of positive Christian be-

lief with the freest—we might say the roughest—handling of the earliest Christian records, will meet with objections from both sides. The critical theologian and the conservative will agree that Dr. Abbott either should not have gone so far, or must go farther. We can conceive, however, of his making good his foothold at the spot on the inclined-plane he has chosen for himself, but not of his inducing many to share it with him.

For our part, we think with John Stuart Mill that there is no antecedent incredibility in a miracle, if the occasion be such as calls for one. And we think that Dr. Abbott's view of the person and mission of Christ make the occasion great enough. The advent of the Eternal Son into a world of disorder, suffering, and need, as the restorer of the holy order which sin had violated, must lead to acts which shall be the signs of that restoration. They flow naturally from his character and his mission. They are not breaches of the order of the universe, but the breaking through of a higher order into our disorder, and the prophecy of the world's final deliverance.

ELEMENTS OF MORALS: with Special Application of the Moral Law to the duties of the Individual and of Society and the State. By Paul Janet, Member of the Institute, Author of "The Theory of Morals," etc. Translated by Mrs. C. R. Corson. Pp. V. and 353. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

Prof. Janet is one of the ablest representatives of spiritual philosophy in France, where such men are needed as much as anywhere in the world. Always he has attacked the materialistic philosophy on practical grounds. His "Lectures on the Family," delivered at Strasburg, in 1864, first made him a name among philosophers, and won him the honors of the Institute. Since that time he has reviewed the field of ethical development in his admirable "History," and has gone down to the roots of the subject in his "Theory of Morals." His "*Elements de Morale*," of which Mrs. Corson gives us a translation here, first appeared in 1870; but the book has passed through several editions, and has had the perfecting touch of its author in each of these. This translation is made from the most recent edition.

The theory of ethics which our author elaborated in his greater work underlies this practical hand-book. In the main, M. Janet is in agreement with Kant. He holds that ethical obligation has a real, not merely an ideal, basis. It is founded in the nature of things, in an absolute good toward which all duty tends. This good he finds in God and His will; and he thus associates moral duty and principle with religious. In developing these principles to their practical application, M. Janet shows his usual literary skill. He is as concrete as the subject allows of. He has French clearness without the superficiality by which it too often is obtained. And he enlivens his pages by classic passages from the great ethical writers from Plato to our own time, especially Fichte.

The translation seems to be admirably done.

DEUTSCHE NOVELLETEN-BIBLIOTHEK FÜR DIE BENUTZUNG IN SCHULEN, [etc.] With Explanatory Notes by Dr. Wilhelm Bernhardt. Vol. I. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 1887.

From the very abundance of simple and classic German prose, the selection of second-year German reading always involves something of a question in our high schools and colleges. The quality of the typographical work and the usefulness of the annotations are consequently often the strongest considerations influencing the purchase of books for class use. Dr. Bernhardt we see, in his collection of some five short stories under the above title, has recognized the importance of these two points, and has secured clear types, and bestowed more than usual care upon the notes. These are for the most part brief and suggestive, giving particular attention to etymological relations of German and English words, and to the explanation of German compounds. The latter, especially, seems to us a praiseworthy feature, and one that might well bear further development in the volumes which we understand are to follow. For readiness in reading and acquisition of the vocabulary, it is of prime importance that young students from the outset should comprehend the method by which German compounds are built up. To give some obvious examples, the student who sees the composition of such words as Fingerhut, or Ausrufungszeichen, not only has a means for remembering these words, but will soon be able to read German in which more abstract terms occur (such as Dasein, Vorstellung, etc.), without fighting his way by *coups de dictionnaire*.

The value of Dr. Bernhardt's "Noten" would have been increased by including grammatical references to other standard grammars, instead of confining them to the author's "Sprachbuch," while the introduction of synonymes to words commented upon, and the writing of the notes themselves in easy German, may be mentioned as other praiseworthy features.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

IT seems like an act of temerity to portray the lives of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson in a single volume of large type and moderate dimensions. Yet the task has been assumed by Mr. William O. Stoddard ("Lives of the Presidents Series," White, Stokes & Allen, New York). Of course the result is no more than the briefest outline, and we cannot regard the performance as satisfactory. The lives of Adams and Jefferson mean, in effect, the history of the events leading to the Revolution, the story of the War, and of the first five Presidential administrations, —a mass of historical matter of the highest importance. It was impossible that Mr. Stoddard, or any one, could satisfactorily treat it within the limitations here set. The book, it may be hoped, will be so suggestive to the young readers for whom it is especially designed as to lead them to continue the study. Adams and Jefferson were strongly contrasted characters, representative of New England and of the South, and with all their weaknesses, their services to the new Republic can never be forgotten. And what a strong coincidence it was that they should die on the same day and that day of all others, the 4th of July!

The bound volume of *The Century* magazine is sent out by the publishers, and as usual is a wonderfully attractive collection of letter-press and illustrations. It covers the six issues from November, 1886, to April, 1887, and contains among other things the first six instalments of the Life of Lincoln. The publishers make the following announcement as to the further progress of this important series of papers: "In May, 'The Border Conflict' (a little war which preceded the great war of the Rebellion), will be described, together with Lincoln's part in the formation of the Republican party; in June, the Dred Scott decision, with Lincoln's and Douglas's utterances concerning that event; in July, a full report of the great Lincoln-Douglas debates; in August, Lincoln's famous Cooper Institute speech; in September, the conventions of 1860, and the election of Lincoln to the presidency."

The third and fourth volumes in the very satisfactory new edition of Robert Browning's works have been issued by Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. These present "The Ring and the Book," complete in one volume; with "Christmas Eve and Easter Day Men and Women," "In a Balcony," "Dramatis Personæ," "Balaustion's Adventure," "Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau," and "Fifine at the Fair" in the other—Volume IV. The type is new, the paper good, the press-work fine, and the binding in good taste, as always with the books put out by this house.

AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS.

TWO of the most popular novels, as yet, are "Sons and Daughters," and "The Story of Margaret Kent." The Boston *Traveller* has a paragraph saying that at "the public library at Philadelphia" they are the books "most in demand." But that reminds us that we have no public library in Philadelphia. Messrs. Ticknor & Co., by the way, begin a new series of paper-covered novels with "Margaret Kent."

The *Pall Mall Gazette* prints an extract from a private letter from one whom it describes as "a distinguished American man of Letters," in which are some details concerning Walt Whitman; and his circumstances. The letter says: "We raised about \$600 for old Walt at his lecture the other day. It amuses and somewhat angers me, this talk about the Americans not taking care of the old fellow. The fact is that millions are at his disposal—that is to say, I think he has more millionaires and rich people who look after him than any one I know. For instance, Mr. George W. Childs wrote to me the other day that he has a friend in Camden who sees that he suffers for nothing. Mr. Carnegie, who gave \$350 for his box at the lecture the other day, stands ready to see the bard through on any and all occasions. There are plenty of other people, of limited and unlimited means, who are in constant communication with Whitman; and Philadelphia and New York journalists, who see that his wants are fully supplied. A rich Philadelphian told me to-day that he had given him himself, off and on, a thousand dollars. Burroughs sends him money pretty much every year; and all this talk of the necessity of raising money by subscription abroad, with the idea that he won't be taken care of at home, is ridiculous."

Sir Edward Watkin, the well-known railroad president, will shortly publish a book entitled "Canada and the United States—Recollections from 1851 to 1886."—The Boston *Literary World* says: "We are glad to be able to say that the newspaper reports with regard to the blindness of Mrs. Margaret J. Preston are untrue. Mrs. Preston is not blind at all, but because of overtaxed eyes has had to do all her literary work, for some time, through an amanuensis."—The famous "Consulte" of the Florentine Republic are about to be printed for the first time under the ed-

itorship of the State Archivist at Florence, Signor Gherardi. They have always been difficult to use on account of their crabbed and abbreviated handwriting.

A hymn and tune book for congregational use is to be issued in the early autumn by Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. It is edited by Professors Harris and Tucker, of Andover, with the coöperation, as musical editor, of Mr. E. K. Glezen of Providence. The selection of hymns and of tunes has the object throughout of developing congregational singing. The best musical sources have been laid under contribution, but, in addition to tunes already familiar, only such compositions have been selected as are easily learned and remembered. The book will contain about 650 hymns and a portion of the Psalter. Competent judges consider it the best hymn and tune book for congregational use that has been prepared in this country.

Messrs. Roberts Brothers have in press a new book of social studies by Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton, ranging over such topics as "Rosebuds in Society," "Young Beaux and Old Bachelors," "Engagements," "After Marriage," and other similar experiences, which are discussed with refinement, good sense, and charm. "Ourselves and Our Neighbors" is the title of Mrs. Moulton's book.

"I understand" says London *Truth*, "that the projected biography of Mr. Delane, about which there has been so much fuss, will not be published. The fact is that a life of Mr. Delane would be a secret history of the *Times* during its most brilliant period, and the principal proprietor of that journal is strongly averse to any revelations. Mr. Delane left a vast mass of correspondence of the highest interest and importance, but I suspect that the bulk of it has been destroyed."

Messrs. Chatto & Windus announce "Old Blazer's Hero" by Christie Murray, and "Disappeared," by Sarah Tytler.—Mr. F. C. Burnand's latest piece of humor, entitled "The Incomplete Angler," with illustrations by Mr. Harry Furniss, has just been published in London.—Mr. Murray (London) has in press "A Dictionary of Hymnology," edited by Rev. John Julian. It aims to trace the history of the Christian hymns of all ages and nations.

The *Publisher's Weekly* says: "The rumor which has been abroad for some time to the effect that Belford, Clarke & Co. had found their dry-goods counters in the East to be of little profit, and that they were contemplating giving them up, has become a fact as far as the latter circumstance is concerned. That this is information that will make many a drooping bookseller look more hopefully into the future, no one will doubt. With this firm's reform in the method of doing business, one of the most important elements that conspired to make life uneasy and a burden to the 'local bookseller' has been removed."

"Ballads and Poems of Tragic Life" is the title of Mr. George Meredith's long announced volume of verse just published by Macmillan & Co.—The sometime promised volume of "Sermons and Addresses," delivered by the late Principal Tulloch, at Balmoral, will be published immediately by Nisbet & Co., London.—The Flemish novelist, Hendrick Conscience, left among his papers the manuscript of a three-volume novel called "Hertog Jan I."—The fourth, and concluding volume of Hackett & Laing's "Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain," is about ready in London.

G. P. Putnam's Sons will print at once in their series of "Questions of the Day," the recent address by Edward Atkinson before the Boston Labor Union, on the subject of "The Margin of Profit: How it is now divided: What part of the present hours of labor can now be spared." With this address will be printed the reply of Mr. E. M. Chamberlain, representing the Labor Union, and Mr. Atkinson's rejoinder to the reply. The volume will contain certain tabular representations analyzing the sources of the product and the division of the product of labor and capital, together with a chart entitled "The Labor Spectrum," which presents the full details of the present division of profits.

Mr. William Cushing denies the report that he has given up the publication of his proposed volume of "Anonyms." He has collected nearly 21,000 titles.—Hamilton W. Mabie, who has undertaken to write the life of Helen Hunt Jackson, will visit Southern California before he completes the work.—Dissatisfied with the progress made by her publishers upon her "History of Woman Suffrage," Mrs. Susan B. Anthony has purchased back her right in the work and will publish it herself, at Rochester, N. Y.

Victor Hugo's will shows once more that it is possible to be at the same time a poet and a man of business, possible to sing heroically of France as the country of civilization, of Paris as the centre of the world and the mistress of manners, and yet to invest all one's savings in foreign securities. And in Victor Hugo's case these savings were considerable, £92,126 being invested in England, where it is to remain.

Sir J. W. Dawson is busy on a new edition of his well known work "The Story of the Earth and Man," which will be revised according to the latest scientific theories and discoveries.—The general Congress of the German Historical Societies will be held at Mayence, in September.—A new novel by the author of "Hogan, M. P." is in the press, in London, with the title, "Isma's Children." It deals with country life in Ireland at the present time and is expected to make a sensation.

The publishing business in London is undergoing a revolution. Mudie and the other big London houses swallowed up the local circulating libraries and absorbed and fostered the system of loaning books published in the expensive three-volume form, but they themselves are now threatened with extinction by the new tendency towards the publication of novels in one volume and with cheap paper covers, which makes it possible to buy the books for less than a library subscription costs during the year. The popular series of "Great Writers" comprises already Longfellow, Coleridge, Dickens, Johnson, Darwin, and Rossetti, and others are soon to be issued.

Walter Besant, W. H. Pollock, Mrs. W. H. Clifford, and others will contribute short stories to a volume soon to be published for the benefit of a London hospital.—The mention of Mr. Besant is a reminder that it has been reported knighthood has been offered him by the Queen, and refused. The honor was in acknowledgment of the service rendered by him in his admirable novel, "All Sorts and Conditions of Men," in suggesting the idea of a People's Palace in East London, which has now in the Jubilee year been carried to completion. A more substantial triumph than this a novelist has rarely had.

Philip James Bailey is engaged in preparing for the press another edition of his once famous "Festus." This will be the eleventh edition of the poem published in England.—M. de Lesseps' "Reminiscences" will be published in October, in Paris. An English edition will be published simultaneously by Chapman & Hall.—Messrs. Sonnenschein (London), are going to bring out a series of "Parallel Grammars," under the general editorship of Prof. Sonnenschein, of Mason College, Birmingham, who himself contributes the Latin Grammar.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

WE have had, of late, very little from the pen of Mr. Howard Pyle, his pencil seeming to have fully occupied his attention. The June number of *Harper's Magazine*, however, contains a story of Puritan England, from his hand. The title is "Stephen Wycherlie," and one of the four drawings with which the author illustrates it, forms the frontispiece of the magazine. Other features of the same issue are articles on "American Railroad Legislation," by Prof. Hadley, of Yale College; and "The Growth of Corporations," by Dr. R. T. Ely, of Johns Hopkins. Dr. Ely traces the history of corporate industry from its meagre beginnings a century ago, when only one corporation was formed in Massachusetts during thirty years, and only three banking corporations existed in the United States, to the enormous rapidity of their spread in the last fifty years.

The Century's "War Series" will be concluded in October of this year.

The publication known as *Queries* has been transferred by Messrs. C. T. Sherrill & Co., its publishers, to Messrs. C. W. Moulton & Co., a newly formed publishing house at Buffalo.

Miss Rose Elizabeth Cleveland has become associated in *The* editorial management of the *American Magazine of History*.

Prof. Francis L. Patton, of Princeton, will contribute to the *Forum* for June an article under the significant title "Is Andover Romanizing?"

ART NOTES.

MR. ALEXANDER CALDER, sculptor of the equestrian statue of General Meade, is now at work on the colossal figure of William Penn, intended to surmount the tower of the public buildings. This figure is to be thirty-six feet in height, and is to stand on a base four hundred feet above the level of the street. It might be possible, but could hardly be made expedient, to model this immense subject in one piece. Such a vast mass of clay would be difficult to handle, and would require special facilities at once expensive and cumbersome. Mr. Calder is dividing the figure into such sections as can be most readily worked in the clay, and subsequently cast with advantage. The sculptor's task is now about one-half finished, and several completed sections are ready to be put in plaster preparatory to the casting in bronze. It is more or less absurd to place a statue where it can never be seen, and even this immense figure will be pretty much out of sight at the distance of a quarter of a mile, which is about as near as an observer can

stand to see the whole of it at once. However, it is so proportioned and designed that it will look like a human figure, which is more than can be said of the statue of Liberty. The trouble with the Bartholdi design is, that at a distance it doesn't look like anything in particular, and might be taken for a grain-elevator as well as for a statue. This is a difficulty incident to dealing with unusual proportions which Mr. Calder has successfully overcome. His study of Penn's portrait may never be appreciated, but even on top of the great tower his figure will be recognized as that of a human being.

Mr. Eadweard Muybridge has on private exhibition at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, his photographic illustrations of "Animal Locomotion." These illustrations consist of 781 photographic plates taken by Mr. Muybridge from life, and published by subscription only, under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania; the prints being reproductions by photogravure process. These plates represent more than 20,000 figures of men, women, and children, animals and birds, all of them in action. Walking, running, flying, working, playing, boxing, wrestling, dancing, these figures show the attitudes of the body and play of the muscles, not only in each action illustrated but in each successive phase of such action from the beginning to the end. A series of views taken, for example, of a man jumping a hurdle, shows every phase of the action from the moment he springs forward until he alights on the ground again. This is done by a succession of instantaneous pictures taken by means which Mr. Muybridge has made too well understood to need description here. The models have in all possible cases been selected with the view of securing the most valuable results for artistic and scientific uses. The greater number of those represented in walking, running, jumping, playing ball, and other games, are young athletes of the University of Pennsylvania. The mechanics at work are experts in their trades; the soldier drilling is a member of a crack military company; the boxers are professional "pugs," and so on through the list, the best examples alone being chosen. As a work of reference for artists and scientific investigators, it can readily be seen that Mr. Muybridge's illustrations of "Animal Locomotion" may be of great value.

The Munkacsy picture, "Death of Mozart," is not to be added to the Metropolitan Museum treasures after all. It was supposed a bargain had been concluded by which a number of gentlemen would buy the work and present it to the museum, but while the final negotiations were pending, Governor Alger, of Michigan, intervened and carried off the prize to Detroit. If the Metropolitan Art Museum is in want of a characteristic example of Munkacsy, and can find friends to buy one, it may be well enough to say "The Last Days of a Condemned Man" is on sale in this city; indeed, possibly two copies of it could be had, if desired.

The National Academy in New York closed its doors on Saturday last, the season having been satisfactorily successful in all respects. The sales amounted to between thirty-two and thirty-three thousand dollars, but there are still a few negotiations pending which will probably bring the figures fully up to thirty-five thousand, the amount heretofore mentioned in this column. Mr. George H. Galt, who has charge of the sales at the National Academy, states that catalogue prices have been fairly well adhered to, this season. The painters who mark their contributions far above their selling figures in this year's catalogue are mostly the young fellows who have not yet learned better. There is one thing to be said about the young artist, however, and the wide differences he makes between catalogue and selling figures—namely, that however sincerely he may judge according to his best information that his picture is worth five hundred dollars, he is often only too glad to take two hundred and fifty dollars, or indeed almost anything he can get. The older men, with established reputations and a certain market, can afford to mark their work at what it is worth and then wait. The young man who waits, may go without his dinner. But with all due allowance for the juniors, Mr. Galt's statement with regard to the National Academy catalogue is encouraging. It will be a good day for exhibitions when the prices, if any are given, are not subject to huckstering between the salesman and the contributor.

SENATOR REAGAN ON THE FOURTH CLAUSE OF HIS BILL.

IN a letter to Col. Morrison, Mr. Reagan, of Texas, says concerning the long-and-short-haul clause, and its suspension:

The fourth section provides the rule, in substance, that it shall be unlawful for common carriers to charge or receive any greater compensation in the aggregate for the transportation of passengers, or of like kind of property, under substantially similar circumstances and conditions, for a shorter than for a longer distance over the same line in the same direction, the shorter being included in the longer distance. It was insisted by the representatives of the railroad companies that this was an ironclad rule which might work serious harm. Though I did not and do not think it in human power to show that it can do so in deference to the opinions of others we put the

proviso to this section that upon application to the commission such common carrier may, in special cases, after investigation by the commission, be authorized to charge less for longer than for shorter distances for the transportation of passengers and property. It was never suggested in the conference committee, where the section received its final shape, or elsewhere that I know of, that under this language the commission might suspend the section and adopt in its stead the exception for the rule.

But there is another question far more important than any of these which must be considered in construing the fourth section of this act, and which I fear has not with sufficient force arrested the attention of the commission. In the authorities to which I have referred, and in the reports of the state railroad commissions, in the debates in Congress, you will find any amount of proof that people who have suffered injury by the discriminations and excessive charges of railroad companies are afraid to sue them for damages or to prosecute them, because they say if they do so the railroads, by other discrimination and exactions, will ruin them in their business. And it is notorious that such has been in many cases their policy. You will also find from the same sources of information that in many instances the officers and managers of railroads, through sub-corporations and rings, and by secret agreements with private parties, are engaged in various branches of production and of commerce in competition with outside people who have no connection with the railroads, and that in such cases the practice is to discriminate in rates of transportation in their own favor. Now, if the commission shall refuse to enforce the fourth section of the law, it will leave to the railroads all their power of terrorizing and intimidating the people of the various localities through which their several roads pass, and thus enable them to prevent damage suits and criminal prosecutions under other provisions of the law: and it will enable their officers to continue to be manufacturers, producers, and merchants as now, and to carry on discriminations in favor of the places where they do such business, even if the commission shall faithfully enforce all the other provisions of the law. And I most earnestly beg that you and the commission may consider this feature of this question before the final determination of the course it will adopt as to the fourth section. . . . During all the years this great question was before Congress the paramount issue was whether the people of this country, through the agency of Congress, or the railroad corporations should dictate the policy and control the commercial interests of the American people. The people at last triumphed in the passage of this important and fair and just law. Ever since its passage the railroad corporations have through their officers, agents, lawyers, and hired newspapers been engaged in a most extraordinary conspiracy to secure the nullification of one at least of its most important provisions. Millions of people, with interests involved of thousands of millions of dollars, and with political interests far greater than any money interests at stake, and with bated breath, are looking earnestly and anxiously to see whether the commission is to be misled and their rights and interests sacrificed, or whether the law is to be sustained and their pecuniary and political rights preserved.

DRIFT.

AMONG the most active and intelligent advocates of a complete reciprocity of trade between Canada and the United States is Mr. Erastus Wiman of New York, himself a Canadian. He recently addressed a very cogent letter to the farmers of the Dominion, pointing out the advantages they would secure by commercial union. A dispatch from Toronto, on the 17th inst., says the Hon. John Sherman has written Mr. Wiman a letter on the subject, in which he says:

"No question of greater importance in our foreign relations is now presented than this. It certainly is an object of desire to remove all existing controversies and to encourage business and commercial intercourse between the people of both countries. As to the particular measure proposed by Mr. Butterworth, or indeed, as to the extent to which reciprocity should go and the articles that should be admitted free of duty in the respective countries, I do not feel justified in now expressing an opinion, for these must be the subject of negotiation between and legislation by the two countries. I can only say that the general object sought seems to be one of the highest importance, creditable alike to both countries, and which will receive my careful and friendly consideration during the coming summer. It would be discreditable in the highest degree for two countries having so many interests in common and natural ties of friendship and amity to have any irritation or controversy about their trade and intercourse with each other."

We are surprised at the lamentable want of enterprise on the part of our usually wide awake contemporary, the Louisville *Courier-Journal*. In its issue recording the nomination of Simon Bolivar Buckner for the governorship it presents portraits of General Buckner, Mrs. Buckner and Baby Buckner. Why General Buckner's gifted man-servant, his talented maid-of-all-work, and the able coachman who drives the general's horses are slighted is a singular and puzzling circumstance. We trust it is merely an oversight.—*N. Y. Mail and Express*.

The induction of Prof. Isaac Sharpless into the office of President of Haverford College took place on Thursday of this week, a large company of those interested in the institution being present. The programme included an address by Francis T. King, of Baltimore, on behalf of the Board of Managers; the inaugural address of President Sharpless; and other addresses, representing the faculty and the alumni, by Prof. Rendel Harris, and Prof. Clement L. Smith, Dean of Harvard College.

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